CHRISTIAN STATESMAN

Vol. LXXXVII. Pittsburgh, Pa., September, 1943. No. 3.

CHRISTIAN WORLD ORDER NUMBER

THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE

The paramount issue before the American people today is the Peace to follow the subjugation of the Axis Powers. Other issues—the liquor traffic, Sabbath desecration, religion in public education, even the New Deal—can wait. We can, and will fight them out over the years to come.

America Holds the Key

But the kind of a Peace we shall have, the kind of a Peace the United States shall stand and work for, whether it shall be a Peace that will certainly and shortly bring on another global war, or a Peace that will at least hold out hope of banishing from the earth the awful curse of war, and bestowing on the world the blessings of a just and durable Peace—this will be decided in the very near future and the decision will effect profoundly the life not only of America but of the world for centuries to come.

And America, more than any other nation holds the key to the kind of peace that will be established.

Our Supreme Responsibility

Therefore, our supreme responsibility is to concentrate our efforts toward setting up a World Order that will bring peace. Since the only World Order that can bring real peace is essentially a Christian Order, the greatest responsibility in working for it rests upon the Christian Church and upon American Christians.

Our nation alone is spending vast sums—billions upon billions of dollars—and expending many precious lives, and will spend much more money and many more lives in winning the war. Shall all this sacrifice of money and lives and the even greater sacrifices in lives and treasure others of the United Nations are making be in vain? God forbid.

Our Task

Let us therefore give ourselves with wholeheartedness and enthusiasm to the task

(a) Of building a public sentiment for a Christian World Order, for America's leadership in setting it up, and membership in it.

(b) Of bringing public sentiment for such a World Order to bear upon our public officials who will represent us in helping to set it up.

This is why we have devoted this entire issue of The Christian Statesman to this subject. It is built around the petition addressed to the United States Senate on page two, which calls for

(a) A Christian Charter for the New World Order.

(b) An International or World Government.

(c) Our country's participation in setting up this New Order.

Act NOW

Will you not study this petition and the material in this issue supporting it, and have others do so? And if the petition meets with your approval, as we trust it will, have it adopted by groups, or signed by individuals and sent on to Washington as suggested on page three.

Help build a public sentiment for a Christian World Order, and help focus that sentiment upon Washington. AND DO IT NOW. In this matter of national and world salvation, as in individual salvation, "NOW is the accepted time, NOW is the day of salvation."

PETITION FOR A CHRISTIAN WORLD ORDER

TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

The undersigned, citizens of the United States, deeply concerned that the United Nations shall win the peace as well as the war, present for your consideration the following, which we believe essential to a just and durable peace:

I. The Establishing of a Christian World Order.

Only a Christian Order can bring peace. It calls for

A CHRISTIAN CHARTER

embodying the fundamental principles of Christian government, such as these:

Nations are subjects of the moral government of God, and owe allegiance to Him. His laws for their government are found in the Bible. Their highest expression is in the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Ruler of nations. Of Him, the Divine lawbook for Nations declares:

"The government shall be upon his shoulders; his name shall be called . . . Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end."

If we would have peace let us build the New World Order upon Him as its foundation according to the basic laws of His Kingdom—righteousness, and human brotherhood.

This Christian Charter should also contain

A BILL OF RIGHTS FOR MANKIND

implementing these basic principles, such as:

a. Religious, intellectual and economic freedom for all peoples.
b. Equality of opportunity for all men regardless of birth, race, or nationality.
c. The right of the people under colonial governments to be governed justly and to prepare them for self-government.
d. The right of security against war.

II. The Establishing of an International or World Government.

Within nations we have established government and enacted laws for the peaceable settlement of disputes. In the No-man's Land of international relationships we, as yet, have failed to establish government. So long as this international anarchy continues, in this shrunken world we will have constantly recurring global wars.

To save civilization we must establish a government over nations, clothe it with authority at least sufficient to enact laws to suppress international brigandage and lawlessness, and with power sufficient to enforce obedience to them.

Our forefathers in 1787 adopted this principle of federal government. Its success on a continental scale warrants the conviction that it is valid for the world.

III. America's Participation in Establishing a Christian World Order and Government.

For our participation there are compelling reasons:

a. No world order with hope of peace can be set up without our help.

b. Our national interest demands our participation. The alternative to international cooperation in establishing the reign of law, justice and peace in the world, is international anarchy, the maintenance of huge national armaments, and the recurrence of global wars involving our nation.

c. As a Christian people we have obligations to humanity which can be fulfilled only by our collaboration. The Christian law of life, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," requires America to seek the safety and welfare of other nations to the same extent she seeks her own. Besides, America is a chosen nation, chosen of the Lord and blest, not for her own sake, but for the sake of the whole world. We now face our greatest opportunity to fulfill this world mission.

In this appeal for a Christian World Order we are realists, not impractical idealists. Anti-Christian principles in the international realm have proven unrealistic and impracticable. They have drenched the earth with the blood of unnumbered millions of its choicest manhood. The Christian way of life for nations is the realistic way. It alone will work. We call upon you, our representatives, to set it to work in the New World Order.

Adopted by ..... on .....
Name of organization Date

representing approximately.....persons.

Signature and address of officers.....

Or signed by individuals:

Name Address

.....

ADD OTHER SHEETS

A CLARION CALL FOR ACTION

The Petition to the United States Senate for a Christian World Order on the opposite page is the core around which this issue of The Christian Statesman is built. The purpose of this Petition which contains "A Christian Charter for the New World Order" is two-fold: (1) to provide a nucleus or basis for the study and discussion of the New World Order and of our national responsibility in setting it up; (2) to secure from those whose views in reference to a New World Order are in substantial agreement with those in The Christian Statesman an expression of their convictions concerning this New Order to our public officials in Washington. To elaborate on these two points:

I. The study and discussion of the New World Order and of America's responsibility with reference to it.

The importance of an informed public opinion on this subject based upon Christian standards cannot be overstated. We, therefore, urge the study and discussion of this subject in churches, Bible classes, missionary and young people's societies, in community groups organized for this purpose; and that ministers discuss it from the pulpit.

This issue of The Christian Statesman contains material that will be helpful in the study of the three points contained in the petition. To those who desire further material we highly recommend two pamphlets packed full of material on every phase of this subject:

a. A Righteous Faith for a Just and Durable Peace.

b. Six Pillars of Peace.

The former is a pamphlet of 104 pages. It contains 14 papers or addresses by 14 outstanding Americans. This pamphlet was approved for publication by the Commission to Study the Basis of a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

The second pamphlet is "A study Guide Based on a Statement of Political Propositions," the six propositions quoted in Dr. Elliott's article in this issue. This pamphlet which contains 84 pages has many quotations from churches and religious and political leaders of United States, Great Britain and China. It was formulated by the Commission named above.

Both pamphlets are published by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y. "The Righteous Faith" pamphlet sells at 25 cents per copy and the "Six Pillars" pamphlet at 20 cents per copy.

For the convenience of our leaders we have secured a number of copies of these pamphlets and will be glad to furnish them in single copies or in quantities to our readers at the above prices, postpaid.

We have had extra copies of this issue of The Christian Statesman printed in order to be able to supply additional copies to those who desire them for use in study and discussion groups or to place them in the hands of others interested in this subject. They can be secured at the following rates:

1 to 10 copies, 10 cents each.
15 to 25 copies, 8 cents each.
50 copies, $3.50; 100 copies $6.00.
A 50 cent packet—1 copy each of "A Righteous Faith for a Just and Durable Peace" and "Six Pillars of Peace" and 5 copies of The Christian Statesman.
A $1.00 packet—2 copies each of "A Righteous Faith for a Just and Durable Peace" and "Six Pillars of Peace" and 15 copies of The Christian Statesman.

Address The National Reform Association, 209 Ninth St., Pittsburgh, 22, Pa.

II. An effective expressions of your convictions regarding the New World Order as set forth in the petition to the United States Senate on the preceding page, to our public officials in Washington.

This is second in importance only to the building of a public sentiment for a Christian World Order. Those holding opposing views will be active in bringing pressure to bear upon these officials. We should be just as active. Our convictions will count little unless they are conveyed to these officials.

How Do This Effectively?

a. Have the petition on the foregoing page adopted by your church, Bible class, or other organization and properly signed by its officials. Or, secure as many individual signers to the petition as possible. Then send on to Washington.

We have addressed the petition to the United States Senate. The reason for this is that under our Constitution an international treaty to be effective must be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. The failure of the Senate to ratify our entrance into the League of Nations wrecked the peace in World War I. The greatest danger of America's wrecking the peace in World War II lies with the Senate.

The petition can be sent directly to the Clerk of the United States Senate, Washington, D. C. But we strongly recommend that it be sent, with an accompanying letter, to one of the Senators of the state from which the petition comes with a request that it be presented to the Senate. Regardless of your Senator's views on this issue he is morally bound to present it. By following this method the petition will impress this Senator in particular as well as make its impression on the Senate.

We recommend also, especially when the petition is adopted by organizations, that the same petition addressed to the House of Representatives, be sent to your Representative in the House from the district from which the petition comes with the request it be presented to the House.

For reason see "Fulbright Resolution" Page 9.

We also recommend that the petition addressed to the President of the United States and the Department of State, be sent to President Roosevelt at the White House, Washington, D.C.

For the convenience of those who wish to use this petition The National Reform Association will furnish copies of the petition addressed to

a. The Senate of the United States.
b. The House of Representatives.
c. The President of the United States and the Department of State, at the following rates:

3 to 10 copies, 2 cents per copy.
20 to 50 copies, 1½ cents per copy.
100 copies and upwards, 1 cent per copy.

In ordering please be specific as to how many of each kind you wish. Address The National Reform Association, 209 Ninth St., Pittsburgh, 22, Pa.

b. By personal letters to our officials at Washington. This is the most effective method of bringing the individual citizen's convictions to bear upon these officials. In this issue great emphasis should be placed on this method. It should supplement the method of the signing of petitions or their adoption by groups as above.

With Reference to these Letters

a. They should be sent especially to United States Senators for the reason given above.

b. They are most effective when they come from the state or district which the Senator or Representative represents.

c. Special attention should be given to officials who are on the fence on this issue.

d. They should express your own convictions in your own way.

Bases for a Just and Durable Peace as Set forth in The Divine Lawbook for Nations

I. Acknowledgment of the Supreme Authority of Almighty God over nations:

"The Powers that be are ordained of God: and there is no power but of God."—Romans 13:1.

"By me kings reign and princes decree justice. By me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth." —Proverbs 8:15, 16.

"Blessed is that nation whose God is the Lord."—Psalm 33:12.

II. Acknowledgment of Jesus Christ as the Ruler of nations:

"The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son."—John 5:22.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ . . . who is the blessed and only Potentate, King of Kings and Lord of Lords."—1 Timothy 6:14, 15.

"Now therefore be wise, O ye kings: be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve Jehovah with fear, and rejoice with trembling." Kiss the son. . . . Blessed are all they (the nations and their rulers) that put their trust in him." —Psalm 2:10-12.

III. Repentance of National Sins:

"When thy people Israel be smitten down before the enemy, because they have sinned against thee; and shall turn to thee, and confess thy name and pray . . . then hear thou in heaven, and forgive the sin of thy people."—I Kings 8:33, 24.

"At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation and concerning a Kingdom, to pluck up and to break down and to destroy it; if that nation, against whom I have pronounced turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them."—Jeremiah 18:7, 8.

IV. Building the New World Order upon Christ as its Foundation and according to the principles of His Kingdom:

"For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and of peace there shall be no end."—Isaiah 9:6, 7.

"And many peoples shall go and say, come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of Jehovah, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of Jehovah from Jerusalem. And he will judge between the nations, and will decide concerning many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."—Isaiah 2:3, 4.

National Recognition of These Principles

The Biblical foundations and standards for national life and international relationships as set forth above have all had recognition in the life of our own nation. During the dark days of the Civil War the United States Senate unanimously passed a resolution calling upon President Lincoln to set apart a day for national prayer and humiliation. In this resolution recognition was made of the Supreme Authority of God over nations, of national dependence upon Him, acknowledgment of national sin and national judgment, and of forgiveness of national sin through Jesus Christ.

President Lincoln's Proclamation

In response to this request President Lincoln appointed April 30, 1863 "as a day of national humiliation, fasting and prayer," in a proclamation remarkable for its Christian character. We quote from it as follows:

"Whereas the Senate of the United States, devoutly recognizing the supreme authority and just government of Almighty God in all the affairs of men and nations, has by a resolution, requested the President to designate and set apart a day for national prayer and humiliation; And whereas it is the duty of nations, as well as of men, to own their dependence upon the overruling power of God, to confess their sins and transgressions in humble sorrow, yet with assured hope that genuine repentance will lead to mercy and pardon, and to recognize the sublime truth announced in the Holy Scriptures, and proven by all history, that those nations only are blessed whose God is the Lord; And insomuch as we know that, by his divine law, nations, like individuals, are subjected to punishments and chastisements in this world, may we not justly fear that the awful calamity of civil war, which now desolates the land, may be but a punishment inflicted upon us for our presumptuous sins to the needful end of our national reformation as a whole people? We have been the recipients of the choicest bounties of Heaven . . . But we have forgotten God. . . .

"It behooves us, then, to humble ourselves before the offended Power, to confess our national sins, and to pray for clemency and forgiveness."

This day of prayer was observed throughout the nation. In answer to the prayers of the people and their rulers the nation's sins were forgiven, the Divine favor bestowed upon her. Immediately the tide of battle turned and the bloody conflict came to a righteous conclusion.

A Noble Example

What a noble example for our nation—for all the United Nations—to follow in this global war which is shaking civilization to its foundations! Let our nation, let all the United Nations, confess their share in the sin that has brought upon the world this awful calamity and seek forgiveness in God's appointed way through Jesus Christ. And when they come to set up the New World Order, let them recognize the Supreme Authority and just government of Almighty God over all nations and build the New Order upon that foundation which God has laid in Jesus Christ, Savior and Ruler of nations, and according to His principles of justice and brotherhood. Let America lead the nations in doing this.

The substance of these fundamental Biblical principles of Christian government will be found in a proposed Christian Charter for the New World Order contained in Point 1 of the Petition to the Senate of the United States on page 2 in this issue. But if these principles are to be effective in the setting up of a just and durable peace it is necessary for them to be implemented, that is applied to the problems that will have to be faced at the peace table—the economic, racial and political problems. Under Point 1 in the Petition it is suggested that the Charter contain a Bill of Rights for mankind. On page 00 will be found an application of these principles to some of these problems.

CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES IMPLEMENTED

(In setting up the New World Order the Christian principles of justice and brotherhood must be applied to the problems—religious, economic, racial and political—that will have to be faced.)

Religious Problems

Guiding Principles, Federal Council of Churches:

"The rights and liberties of racial and religious minorities in all lands should be recognized and safeguarded. Freedom of religious worship, of speech and assembly, of the press and of scientific inquiry and teaching are fundamental to human development and in keeping with the moral order."

President Roosevelt:

"In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

"The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

"The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world."

* * *

Economic Problems

Until recently, Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles:

"The peace must mean a better standard of living for the common man, not merely in the United States and England, but also in India, Russia, China and Latin America—not merely in the United Nations but also in Germany and Italy and Japan. . . . Those who write the peace must think of the whole world. There can be no privileged peoples. We ourselves in the United States are no more a master race than the Nazis. And we cannot perpetuate economic warfare without planting the seeds of military warfare. We must use our power at the peace table to build an economic peace that is just, charitable and enduring."

Harold E. Stassen, Governor of Minnesota:

"Among the activities that will require the gradual development of a government of the United Nations of the world is this—to increase trade between the peoples of the world. Only thus can general world living standards be improved gradually, and only thus can countries with high living standards maintain them without war. It can well be said—what does it profit a nation, if it holds within it all its trade, and, earning the jealous dislike of other peoples, sacrifices its sons upon the battlefields?"

* * *

Racial Problems

William Scarlett, Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church:

"At the Versailles Conference recognition was asked for the principle of racial equality, with the warning that, should this great principle fail of recognition, it was not seen how perpetual friction and discontent among nations and races could possibly be eliminated. The petition was denied."

William W. Waymack, Editor of the Register and Tribune, Des Moines, Iowa:

"East and West, which couldn't meet, have met—and they are going to find the real bases of mutually helpful and mutually respectful cooperation now, or else. . . .

"Nobody but the veriest dunce can fail to recognize that the Yellow peoples can and will organize, educate, adopt modern technology, and in short, establish an equality in dynamics and fire-power as well as culture. It was only a brief day during which the Western world achieved and held the power to treat the Yellows—as something inferior, to be dealt with on that basis. It has really been only a brief day, and, more importantly, it is done. To put it in the very simplest form, the peace that follows military victory has got to be a 'right' peace from the standpoint of China, weak as China now is, or else . . ."

Political Problems

Six Pillars of Peace (Fourth):

"The peace must proclaim the goal of autonomy for subject peoples, and it must establish international organization to assure and to supervise the realization of that end."

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek:

"China has no desire to replace Western imperialism in Asia with an Oriental imperialism or isolationism of its own or of any one else . . . Unless real world cooperation replaces both isolationism and imperialism of whatever form in the new interdependent world of free nations, there will be no lasting security for you or for us."

* * *

Limitation of National Sovereignty

Oxford Conference:

"So far as the present evil is political the heart of it is to be found in the claim of each national State to be judge in its own cause. The abandonment of that claim, and the abrogation of absolute national sovereignty, at least to that extent, is a duty that the Church should urge upon the nations."

National Study Conference on the Churches and the International Situation:

"We call upon our people to mobilize the spiritual resources of our churches in support of an international system of government. . . . What is required is that nation—states no less than individuals shall be made subject to a world system of law, and to sense of mutual responsibility."

* * *

American Participation in World Order

Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace:

"We believe that, in bringing international relations into conformity with the moral law, a very heavy responsibility devolves upon the United States. For at least a generation we have held preponderant power in the world, and with it the capacity to influence decisively the shaping of world events. It should be a matter of shame and humiliation to us that actually the influences shaping the world have largely been irresponsible forces. Our own positive influence has been impaired because of concentration on self and on our short-range material gains.

If the future is to be other than a repetition of the past, the United States must accept the responsibility for constructive action commensurate with its power and opportunity."

Delaware Conference (1942) *Recommendation:*

"That the United States pursue a responsible national policy with concern for the welfare of all peoples and that the United States cooperate fully with all nations and peoples in working towards a world order of justice and peace."

William W. Waymack, Editor of The Register and Tribune, Des Moines, Iowa:

"Those who preached and advocated isolation, who propagandized the doctrine that America could achieve her own security by pretending (only pretending) to secede from the planet, claimed stridently that they were the 'realists'. They called all those who really recognized the 'facts of life' in the modern world 'visionaries' and 'dreamers'. To a sufficient degree for their purposes they 'got away with it'. Today every man with a lick of sense must recognize that the terms 'realist' and 'dreamer' were applied precisely in reverse. Never was there more unrealistic dreaming than on the part of the security-through-isolation crowd."

THE BIRTHRIGHT OF NATIONS

Delber H. Elliott, D. D.

This issue of the Christian Statesman contains a proposed charter for a Christian world order. It lays no claim to perfection either in content or phraseology. It is just a further endeavor to reach a satisfactory statement that will stand firm on a Christian foundation. The only justification for another voice to be raised in the wilderness of peace proposals is that it may either sound a note which will be distinct from the others or that it may propose a larger emphasis on something of greater importance.

Fundamental Emphasis

The Atlantic Charter, the Delaware Conference and the Federal Council of Churches have presented principles which are meeting with wide approval. The first however specifically mentions only two freedoms, freedom from want and freedom from fear, though President Roosevelt has always insisted on four. The second covers such fields as government, economics, unemployment, taxation and religion. The third lays down its *"Six Pillars of Peace."*

"A Statement of Political Propositions"

Briefly stated by the Federal Council Commission, these are as follows:

1—The peace must provide the political framework for a continuing collaboration of the United Nations and, in due course, of neutral and enemy nations.

2—The peace must make provisions for bringing within the scope of international agreement those economic and financial acts of national governments which have widespread international repercussions.

3—The peace must make provisions for an organization to adapt the treaty structure of the world to changing underlying conditions.

4—The peace must proclaim the goal of autonomy for subject peoples, and it must establish international organization to assure and to supervise the realization of that end.

5—The peace must establish procedures for controlling military establishments everywhere.

6—The peace must establish in principle, and seek to achieve in practice, the right of individuals everywhere to religious and intellectual liberty.

The nearest approach to any recognition of a Supreme Being in these political propositions, or Six Pillars of Peace," is the reference to religious liberty. The literature published in support of the Six Pillars however make mention of God and of Jesus Christ. The appendix to the book "A Righteous Faith for a Just and Durable Peace" contains a list of 13 guiding principles the last of which reads as follows:

> "We believe that the eternal God revealed in Christ is the Ruler of men and nations and that His purpose in history will be realized. For us He is the source of moral law and the power to make it effective. Amid the darkness and tragedy of today we are upheld by faith that the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdom of Christ and that He shall reign forever and ever."

This is strong language and the truth of it is worthy of statement among the Pillars of Peace themselves. It is interesting to note that religious leaders in Great Britain, including the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the moderator of the Church of Scotland and the leading representative of the non-conformist churches issued a statement in which they would add to the "Six Pillars" certain basic statements about the relation of "man to God, of God to history, and of man to man as children of God."

Principle or Person

Discussions in the press and on the platform make frequent references to the acceptance of the *principles* of Christ while little is said about the acceptance of His person. We may accept the gifts and reject the giver, but the "gift without the giver is bare." The civil documents of our early history abound with references to the personal rule of Christ in civil affairs. The Rhode Island Compact refers to Him as "our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords." The Compact of Connecticut speaks of the "liberty and purity of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." Similar references are found in the Compact of New Hampshire, The Articles of Confereration, The Great Law of Pennsylvania, the papers of George Washington and early Thanksgiving proclamations.

This same emphasis we believe must be made in any durable basis for abiding peace. We must accept not merely the principles of the Prince of Peace but the Prince Himself who is the "Governor among the Nations" and the "Prince of the kings of the earth."

FAITH over ALL

God has given to America a *birthright* which is fourfold in its nature. The first is a birthright of *Christianity*, which is prominent throughout our early history. The second is a birthright of *Democracy*—a government of the people, by the people and for the people under the sovereign rule of Christ. The first republic originated in the Hebrew commonwealth, which practiced the separation of church and state. In Moses' time the priestly duties were committed to Aaron. The military command was under Joshua. Moses was in charge of civil affairs and judged the people.

Pethro's plan is an outline for a real republic. He said: "Take you wise men out of all the people"—not from a privileged class; "able men such as fear God, men of truth, hating unjust gain"—men of faith and character;" and place such over them." The people accepted the plan—"all that Jehovah hath spoken will we do and be obedient." Each tribe had its own state government with a chief executive and a senate of 70 elders elected by the people. There was also a general assembly which consisted of all Israel and called the "Assembly of the Whole Congregation." And God was over all.

The third element in this fourfold birthright is *Freedom*—not *from* something but *to* something. It is freedom like that of the vine, not to sprawl in the muck and be trampled under, but freedom to climb the trellis to fruitfulness, and to the fulfillment of its highest destiny. True freedom climbs on the trellis of righteous law. "I will walk at liberty for I seek thy precepts."

The fourth is the birthright of *opportunity*—especially the opportunity of being a missionary nation to the rest of the world. Is not this fourfold birthright of America intended for *all nations* whom He hath made of one blood to dwell on all the face of the earth?

One of the most wholesome and expressive symbols of national and international integration is that monument at Plymouth Bay. The four corners of its granite base represent four great forces in the life of nations:—Law, Morality, Freedom and Education. Upon that base rests a gigantic figure of Faith. One hand is holding the open Bible while the other lifts a pointing finger to God.

We are now gathering material for the erection of an enduring monument of peace for all the world. To accomplish this we must have some structural organization for a moral universe. Problems of law, morality, freedom and education in all their spheres must be studied and coordinated into

(*Concluded on page* 9)

OUR FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

A Model for World Organization

Rev. H. B. Mansell

The steadily growing strength of the United Nations—in the air, on land and sea—promises their eventual victory. But the defeat of the Axis Powers will not automatically bring peace to a troubled world; it only makes possible the pursuit of peace by the victors. After the 1918 Armistice the United States tried to isolate itself and to secure peace by treaties and mutual disarmament of nations. All these failed completely. Instead Pearl Harbor blew us into a war that already is far more costly in money and holds the dread possibility of taking more American lives than the First World War. That called about four million men to arms; we now have ten million men and women in our armed services.

People Are Against War

It is a safe assertion that an overwhelming majority—80 per cent, or more—of Americans do not want to engage in a Third World War a short generation from now. How can such an evil fate be avoided? What yet untried method holds out a reasonable promise of avoiding this terrible destruction of life and property?

If opinion polls have any value almost three out of every four Americans are convinced that some form of an international police force is necessary and should be established with our cooperation. There is much to commend such an effort. It is the line along which we have travelled from the lawlessness of the frontier to a degree of law and order wherein decent common citizens have a large degree of safety.

An international police would have to be financed and managed by an international organization. It should have not only responsibility for keeping order but also the powers necessary to compel a would-be lawless nation to obey or to appear before a competent court there to answer for any attack upon another nation.

National Sovereignty

To this some people object that it involves the surrender, in part, of our national sovereignty. Within the nation an individual citizen must yield obedience to the national law as the price paid for enjoying the protection he desires of the law. So also a nation has to be ready to give up its sovereign right to wage an aggressive war as part of the price of a peaceful world. But is this too high a price to pay? Are we surrendering our sovereignty or are we pooling a little of our power with like contributions from other nations in order that all peoples may "enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" without the perpetual dread of a Pearl Harbor? Is not the loss of sovereignty theoretical and the gain to our nation and to all peace-loving nations real and concrete? Moreover what we yield up is not to another nation but to an international body in which we will be represented and for the next few decades, by reason of our moral and financial power, are likely to have a deciding voice.

The world situation now is very similar to that which confronted the thirteen original states in 1783. A common foe had forced the colonies to forget their differences and unite in a fight for independence. The Continental Congress was a makeshift device that was given legal form in the Articles of Confederation adopted in 1781. These placed responsibilities upon Congress without conferring power adequate to meet them. The individual states ignored the requests of Congress and blamed each other. My old school book, Montgomery's "American History", actually says, "They were fast getting to be thirteen hostile nations ready to draw the sword against each other."

A Federal Constitution

Washington and other far-seeing patriots used the disputes as the occasion to lead up to the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Out of its deliberations came an essentially new type of government, one based upon a representative legislature with an executive and a court of final resort. The states were left to handle local matters but common interests were committed to the Federal Union with powers corresponding to its duties. The test of a century and a half has so demonstrated the worth of this principle that the whole Western Hemisphere has adopted it. The British Parliament followed it in setting up the Dominion of Canada in 1867 and went on to use it in creating the British Commonwealth of Nations—Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. In 1922 fourteen republics joined to form the "Union of Soviet and Socialistic Republics of Russia" using our political model while rejecting our economics. When the Chinese were attacked by Japan in 1937 they had drafted a constitution modeled on ours. It will come into force when peace returns to that troubled land. The hard fighting core of the United Nations is composed of peoples politically organized on this federal principle. This war is demonstrating the tremendous reserve power and strength in this form of government by the people. The Roman Empire demonstrated that a peace depending upon a master race dominating subject peoples is unworkable. Even if the Axis did win it would only lead to conflict among themselves to determine which of the three would enslave the other two and the rest of the world. The ultimate end would be another "Dark Age" embracing the whole world.

A League Insufficient

Would the League of Nations supply this need? No one can deny the possibility that our membership in that body might have prevented the present World War. In 1924 Mussolini sought to escape difficulties at home by attacking Greece—the Corfu Incident. Greece appealed to the League and Il Duce abandoned his effort. It is also significant that he did not repeat his attempt until after Japan had seized Manchuria in 1931 and successfully defied the League. If the United States had been a member of the League it is within the probabilities that Australia, New Zealand and Canada would have so endorsed our position that London would not have refused to join in opposing Japan. But without the vantage point of membership in the League we could not persuade London to act. The British Government was in the midst of a great financial crisis. We also were finishing the second year of the depression and our people would not have supported a policy which risked war by the United States alone.

From that time events proceeded with the inevitability of a Greek tragedy. Manchuria was followed by Shanghai, North China, Ethiopia, German rearmament, Franco in Spain, appeasement of Hitler, Austria, Munich, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Netherlands, Belgium, France, Dunkirk, the invasion of Russia, Pearl Harbor, and we were in. Not by our own choice: but none of the United Nations chose war.

World Organization Needed

With victory now in prospect, what shall we do? Do we of America have so little faith in the model supplied by our constitutional fathers that we do not believe it will work today for the whole world? Many of the men in Philadelphia that hot summer doubted whether it would work for a nation

(*Concluded on page 9*)

THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN

Founded in 1867

Devoted to Christian Political and Social Science

Official Organ of

THE NATIONAL REFORM ASS'N

An organization of Christian citizens founded in 1863

Published Quarterly

March, June, September, December, at the Association's Headquarters, 209 Ninth St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

R. H. MARTIN, Editor-in-Chief

Rates, $1.00 the year, payable in advance.

Entered as Second Class Matter, July 30, 1906 at Pittsburgh, Pa., under Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Apology

For the lateness of this issue of The Christian Statesman we apologize to our readers. In these war days with dislocations and extra duties both the editor and the printer of The Christian Statesman have more than they are able to get done on time.

This Issue

For reasons stated on page one we have devoted this issue in its entirety to the Peace to follow the defeat of the Axis Powers. There are other issues in which The National Reform Association is deeply interested and which we are earnestly supporting—domestic issues. These, and our efforts on their behalf, we will postpone consideration of until our next issue. We believe the importance and immediacy of the kind of a peace America decides to stand for and the part she takes in setting it up justifies us in devoting this issue, with four pages added to the number in our regular issues, to the advocacy of a Christian World Order. We trust our readers will agree and copoerate with us in carrying forward the program set forth in this issue.

It is built around the Petition for a Christian World Order on page two. We have supported our own views on this subject, and that of two members of the Board of Directors of The National Reform Association by quotations or extracts from articles by church bodies and by outstanding authorities in the religious and political world which we are certain will have weight with our readers. Many of these are taken from pronouncements by the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and from the statements of prominent men quoted by them in the very valuable pamphlets the Council published (see page three) entitled, "A Righteous Faith for a Just and Durable Peace" and "Six Pillars of Peace", which we recommend those leading study groups or otherwise making a special study of this subject obtain.

Secure Additional Copies

Additional copies of this issue of The Christian Statesman have been printed to make them available to those who want them for use in study and discussion groups or wish to send copies to individuals interested in this subject. They can be secured by writing The National Reform Association, 209 Ninth St., Pittsburgh, 22, Pa., at the following rates:

1 to 10 copies	10 cents each
15 to 25 copies	8 cents each
50 copies	$3.50
100 copies	$6.00

What Is Distinctive in Our Program?

The churches and many other groups—easily more than 100—have programs for the peace which while they vary in some particular from each other and from ours, are in general along the same lines. There is, however, one thing in which our program is distinctive; namely, in a recognition in the Charter for a New World Order of the supreme authority of God and of the rulership of Christ over nations and of their obligation to be obedient to the moral laws of God found in the Bible and written into the constitution of men and of human society.

In the Federal Council's discussion of this subject these fundamental truths of the Scripture are recognized, set forth and implemented. But in the "Six Pillars of Peace" which, as they state, are "A statement of Political Propositions" all reference to the above is omitted. That is God's authority, Christ's rulership and the supremacy of the Divine law are left out in the "propositions" which they propose to have submitted to our political leaders in setting up the peace.

We believe this is a mistake. If God is supreme over all nations and Jesus Christ the Ruler of nations and his law binding on them, these are political truths—truths profoundly important in the setting up of a New World Order—and should be recognized in the setting up of the Christian World Order which the Federal Council and all the churches are supporting. For this reason we have embodied them in the Christian Charter included in the petition which we recommend be sent to our officials at Washington.

We believe there are a great many Christian people in America who will agree with us and we trust that they will cooperate with us not only in adopting and sending the petition as found on page three of this issue to Washington, but in getting it into the hands of others and requesting them to do the same.

Our Petition Wins Approval

Leaders of the Presbyterian Church, South, requested the privilege of reprinting our Petition for a Christian World Order with a view to using it in their church's program for peace. This request was gladly granted. The Adult Men's and Women's organizations of the church in a 20-page document in which they outline a course of study on the peace and include reference to numerous pamphlets and books on this subject, incorporated our petition including The Christian Charter in its entirety taking up two pages in the document and another half page in explaining it. Thus our program for the New World Order will be sent throughout the entire church and receive consideration by all of its members studying this subject.

We are glad that our program has merited this favorable consideration and wish to express our thanks to the leaders for including it in their published program.

In the Congressional Record

Honorable Paul Cunningham from Iowa as an extension of his remarks inserted in the Congressional Record of July 8th a two page article in the June issue of The Christian Statesman, entitled, "America's Responsibility for a Christian World Order," by the Editor, Dr. R. H. Martin.

Through the courtesy of Congressman Cunningham 25,000 copies of a reprint of this article are being secured by The National Reform Association (the Association paying the government cost of printing it) to send out over the country, especially to ministers and others interested in a Christian peace.

It Can Be Done

The greatest obstacle in the way of establishing a just and lasting peace is not the opposition of isolationists, nor of those favoring a balance-of-power politics set-up instead of a world organization, nor of those who favoring a world organization are unwilling to surrender to it an iota of national sovereignty to make it effective. The greatest obstacle comes from those who readily grant that a world organization with authority and power to make it effective, even a world organization that is based upon a Christian foundation and built according to Christian principles is necessary, but from those who granting all this, say it can't be done. These "can't-be-doners" are by no means all outside the

church. Many of them are professing Christians.

This certainly is no attitude for a real Christian nor for a real American to take. Christians are asked and expected to do the impossible. The Master was always doing this. Christianity has made its progress in the world because the followers of Christ have done the impossible. When a thing becomes possible the politicians will take it over and do it.

Now is this the attitude an American should take. For down through the years Americans have been doing the things that most people said were impossible. For this reason America is the great and progressive nation she is today.

As Christians and Americans let us say and believe it is possible to set up a World Order that will bring peace. Then let us act on this belief.

Pray for Those in the Service

Should we not take time out every day to offer a prayer for those who in our stead are periling life for freedom's cause, on land, sea, and in the air? We pass on to the readers of The Christian Statesman a prayer for these in the Service which was voiced recently in the Senate of the United States by the Senate's Chaplain, Frederick Harris Brown:

"O hear us when we cry to Thee
For those in peril on the sea.
Creator, who dost from above
Observe Thy sons with eyes of love,
Who canst preserve where'er they be
Our men who fight for home and Thee;
O put Thou forth a guiding hand
For those in peril on the land.
Almighty, who canst from on high
Protect our flyers in the sky
And guide each pilot in his plane
The length and breadth of Thy domain;
O hearken to our fervent prayer
For those in peril in the air."

"Hasten, we beseech, the day of victory for truth and justice and righteousness, when there shall rise to Thee glad hymns from air and land and sea."

OUR FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

(*Continued from page 7*)

reaching "west of the mountains." Distances were so great, differences between yankees in New England and southern planters, slavery in the South and its approaching disappearance in the North and many other lions were in the way. They needed faith to heed the words of one of their wisest members and "endeavor to raise a standard to which good men could resort and leave the issue with God."

The members of the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention could not forsee the result of their planning. We can be thankful that they heeded the wise words of Washington, that the passing years have justified his trust in God, that the nations have turned more and more to our Founding Fathers' political wisdom in setting up new governments, that the model worked better than its designers expected. And now, having worked on a continental scale, let it be tried out on a world wide scale in the confident expectation that it will prove in Lincoln's words "the last best hope of earth."

THE FULBRIGHT RESOLUTION

On September 21st the House of Representatives of the United States Congress passed the following concurrent resolution by the overwhelming vote of 360 to 29:

"Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Congress hereby expresses itself as favoring the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and to maintain a just and lasting peace among the nations of the world, and as favoring participation by the United States therein through its constitutional processes."

While under our Constitution the House of Representatives has no part legally in the ratification of treaties with other nations, this power being lodged with the Senate, one-third of whose members can prevent the ratification of any such treaty agreed upon by the President and Department of State, nevertheless this action of the House of Representatives has great significance for reasons such as follow:

1. The overwhelming vote given this resolution means the end of our national policy of isolation which for so many years has dominated the United States in her foreign relation policy. The passage of this resolution was very definitely in response to the pressure of public sentiment on the issue involved in the resolution. It is noteworthy that it was passed immediately on the return of the members of Congress from a two months' vacation during which they were brought into close contact with the public sentiment in their districts on this issue.

2. It means that henceforth the House of Representatives does not intend to leave to the Senate alone the matter of the ratification, or the refusal to ratify, treaties with foreign powers. Certainly it is more in accord with democratic policies for both House of Congress to determine this matter by a majority vote of each than for it to be determined by a minority one-third vote of the Senate. And should the Senate persist in its legal right and determination to decide the issue of American participation in the peace by a minority vote in opposition to a majority public opinion, the Senate had better take notice that our Constitutional provision on this matter will be changed.

3. It is the first step in taking the foreign policy of the United States on the matter of the peace out of partisan politics. For the last twenty-five or more years the United States has had no consistent foreign policy. This policy has been decided by whichever of the two political parties was in power, greatly to the detriment of our own nation and to the greater detriment of the world at large. This matter is of such tremendous moment to the welfare of mankind and of our own nation that it should be lifted above the level of partisan politics. We know of no other great nation which allows the general course of its foreign policy to be subject to the whims and the shifting fortune of party politics, and we can no longer afford to do so. Mistakes in foreign policy are now too costly in blood and treasure. America needs a national foreign policy built upon an enlightened consideration of our long-term interest and that of the world that is bigger than either the Republican or Democratic party. It is significant that the Foreign Relations Committee of the House, consisting of 14 Democrats and 11 Republicans, unanimously approved this resolution. Let us insist that the Senate shall proceed in the same fashion to do the same thing.

4. It is the first notification to the governments of the United Nations that America does not propose at the close of this war as she did at the close of the First World War to sabotage the peace by a refusal to ratify any terms of peace agreed upon by the President and the Department of State of the United States which are in substantial accord with what is contained in the resolution.

What is needed to give further weight to this resolution is the development of a stronger public sentiment throughout America for a peace in keeping with the resolution and a constant and increasing expression of that sentiment to our public officials at Washington and in particular to the members of the United States Senate.

THE BIRTHRIGHT OF NATIONS

(*Continued from page 6*)

some plan of world understanding. But we must not forget the figure of FAITH. Over all must hover a faith which looks to the open Bible and which points the world to the eternal God revealed in Christ, the ruler of men and nations.

THIS SHRUNKEN WORLD

Basic to all correct thinking and planning for the New World Order, is the consciousness of a tremendous fact —that this once, big, wide world within recent time, has shrunken until it is now a terribly small world, a neighborhood in which the people of all races and nationalities mingle together as do the peoples who live in the same community or city.

This has been brought about by innumerable inventions and discoveries and by magic means of transportation and transmission—the steam engine, steamship, railroad, electricity, telegraph, telephone, radio, airplane.

How Long is a Mile?

In terms of miles Asia and Europe, are today, and will be tomorrow, as far away from the United States as they were yesterday. But in terms of time, they are much nearer. How long is a mile? One answer is not subject to change—a mile is 5,280 feet. Other answers vary greatly:—a mile is the distance a man on foot will cover in about 15 minutes; a mile is the distance a fast train will cover in one minute; a mile is the distance a fast plane will cover in ten seconds.

How Far is an Hour?

That depends on how you travel. When our grandfathers were boys they spent most of Saturday getting to town and back again in a buggy. Today grandfather can board an airliner and cross the United States from ocean to ocean between sunrise and sunset.

In 1520 it took Magellan 1,083 days, or nearly three years to sail around the world. In 1929, a German airship went around the world in 20 days and 4 hours. In 1938 Howard Hughes did it in 92 hours, one-fifth of the German airship time. Today, a plane flying at 330 miles per hour could go around the world in 43 hours flying time.

What is being done in this war, will serve to drive home the fact that time and distance have been almost annihilated in these modern days. Recently an urgent message came from General MacArthur in Australia. He needed 5,000 small parts to keep certain of his planes in action. In two days and seventeen hours he had them from Air Transport Command of the United States Army.

Rommel's army was sweeping victoriously toward the Nile. General Montgomery did not have the armor-piercing ammunition needed to check his advance. A call was sent to Washington to supply it. It would have required five months for this ammunition to reach the British Army by sea, from an American port by way of Cape of Good Hope up the Red Sea to Egypt. The United States Air Transport took the crisis in stride and in 5 days delivered the 25,000 rounds of the needed shells to the British Army. The ammunition checked Rommel's tanks and turned defeat into victory for Montgomery's Army.

Under the heading "No man on earth lives more than 60 hours from your local airport" the current issue of Pathfinder dramatizes this same point by presenting pictures of workers, business men and travellers of various countries and placing underneath their pictures the following:

This Soviet worker in Yakutsk, Siberia, lives only 28 hours flying time from Washington, D. C.; it's 37 hours flying time from Kansas City to this Chinese student's home outside Chungking, China; the office of this newspaper published in Calcutta, India is 41 hours' flying time from Times Square, New York; this Alaskan Eskimo lives near Fairbanks—13 hours flying time from Chicago; your sales manager in Brisbane, Australia can attend a meeting in San Francisco on short notice, flying time 35 hours.

An Inter-dependent World

This suddenly shrunken, this neighborhood world, is now an inter-related and inter-dependent world. Its peoples of all nations and races have been brought into close contact in their trade, their political and their social relations. Furthermore this world neighborhood is made up of some sixty or more independent sovereign nations, each claiming the right to do absolutely as it pleases—to make the most unreasonable demands on other nations and to raise armies, build navies and make war upon these nations to enforce its demands. Add to this the fact that these nations in their dealings with each other are actuated largely by the pagan law that right is might rather than by the Christian law of justic and brotherhood, and you have the explanation of the startling fact that within this generation the two greatest wars of all history have taken place. These are facts of tremendous significance which must be driven into the consciousness of the people and which must lie in the background of their thinking and planning the New World Order if we are to have lasting peace.

"WHATEVER HAPPENS ANYWHERE HAPPENS TO US"

"Sheer necessity has now taken a hand in this matter. For the basic lesson hammered into us by the events of the past quarter of a century is that the world has become one. For richer or poorer, in sickness and in health, whether we like it or not, we are compelled to recognize that we are members one of another: and that, if one member suffers, if one group or one nation suffers from injustice or humiliation or impoverishment, sooner or later all the members suffer with it.

" 'Whatever happens anywhere happens to us.' And we shall therefore have to organize accordingly. In a world become one, it is no longer possible that each nation retain its complete sovereignty, remain the final judge in its own disputes, be responsible to no moral law beyond its own will, continue free to construct armaments, make war, establish tariff barriers as it will, in disregard of the welfare of others. It is necessary therefore to labor for a world so organized in its political framework as to give some concrete expression of the principle of the unity of mankind, and to offer some effective form of world government."

—William Scarlett,
Bishop of the Protestant
Episcopal Church.

The Lesson of the Sky Train

"The lesson of aviation is that all peoples now live on a terribly small planet: no frontiers can be made impregnable and no seas are moats. In the ether above us no lines can be drawn to indicate here starts this nation and here that. The sky is an element of mankind. Dominated by one nation we have tyranny. Ungoverned, the air, and therefore the world, is handed over to anarchy.

"We have lived in international anarchy ever since the birth of nations. In the world of yesterday, when total war had not been invented, and the ether had not become the chief battleground, we could endure international lawlessness and survive. In the world of today and tomorrow we cannot.

"There is no peace without law. There is no law without government. If, after this war, we have not the intelligence and decency to create a world government open to all on equal terms, we shall deserve the fate that will befall, not us, but our surviving children. And if leaders arise and tell us that what is necessary is Utopian, we should vote them into limbo. They are unworthy of this age."

—*Dorothy Thompson.*

Force Essential in the New World Order

Douglas Johnson in an article entitled, "The Next Armistice—and After," in International Conciliation, shows clearly and convincingly the place of force in maintaining a peaceable society and the necessity of force in the New World Order. After mentioning numerous things that will aid in bringing to the world the blessings of durable peace, he declares that none of these will bring peace so long as one vital element is lacking.

Force Essential to Order

We quote from the article as follows:

"What is the missing element? It is the element of force. Force to sustain the moral judgments of an upward striving civilization against the evil actions of a backward minority. Force to implement agreements to outlaw war, restraining the nation that for greed of gain would appeal to battle in defiance of its most sacred pledges. Force to compel resort to peaceful methods of settling disputes rather than to the arbitrament of arms. Force to prevent armed conquest of a neighbor's lands, and force to give all nations that security and confidence which is the essential prerequisite to general disarmament.

"But I hear someone say: 'Our whole object is to get away from the rule of force, and to substitute for it the rule of law and order.' It has always seemed to me that in such a statement there lies a mischievous fallacy, a tragic fallacy, which is, in ultimate analysis, the fundamental cause of most of our international ills. It is a fallacy widely current, repeatedly promulgated from high places in many lands."

Quoting these men of eminence, that "the material force of arms must give way to the moral force of right," "force should be compelled to bow before law," Mr. Douglas says:

"All of these, and countless similar statements, by men of high position and worldwide influence, contrast force or power on the one hand, with right or justice or law or order on the other. There is no such antithesis. The opposite of 'force' or 'power' is 'weakness' or 'impotence,' not 'law' or 'order.' The opposite of 'right' is 'wrong'; of 'justice', 'injustice'; of 'law', 'lawlessness'; of 'order', 'disorder' or 'anarchy.' Their opposites are not 'force' or 'power.'"

Force an Instrument of Peace

These statements are expressions of a deep conviction that force is something essentially evil, something to be shunned as incompatible with a new and higher order of international relations. Such statements are at the same time expressions of the superficial assumption that law and order rest solely on moral foundations and that somehow they perpetuate themselves because consonant with the best interests of mankind. Worst of all, such statements obscure the vital truth that force is one of the indispensable bases of law and order.

"I see no hope for the establishment of world peace until we free our minds from a fallacy which has too long enchained ideas and paralyzed constructive thought. We must learn that force is merely an instrument, and that it can be an instrument of peace as well as an instrument of war; that it can be beneficient as well as baneful; that it can be controlled by law, as well as exercised with caprice.

"The lesson of man's long struggle to build an orderly society within the State amounts simply to this: 'That peace and order reign only where wise laws, impartially administered, are backed by force. The threefold machinery of a peaceful society consists of legislative bodies to write the laws, courts to administer them, police to execute them. It is a machinery founded on the need of force, and preserved by the exercise of force. But since in this machinery force is subordinated to justice, and employed to maintain peace, we call it the rule of reason, or the rule of law and order.

"The words of the French philosopher Pascal are as true today as when penned almost three hundred years ago:

'Justice without force is impotent. Force without justice tyrannical. We must, therefore, combine justice with force.'

Failure of the League

"If one turns to the field of international relations, I do not see how he can read the record of events at Geneva during the last two decades without coming to the conclusion that the statesmen of most civilized countries, including our own, have failed to learn the most rudimentary lesson of organized society. One may believe that the League of Nations represented a statesmanlike effort to bring law and order into the world. Or one may believe the contrary. In either case one must not lose sight of the fact that this historic effort to abolish war failed because the members of the League were unwilling to employ force as an instrument of justice. One after another the major powers dominating the League helped to tear the heart from that organism by limiting or abolishing their obligations to support by force any decisions it might reach. The measure of the League's waning vitality, as well as the measure of its collective wisdom, was dramatically exposed when one pouter pigeon, strutting on the balcony of the Palazzo Venezia and ready to use his claws, proved to the world that he was more than a match for fifty doves cooing gently at Geneva but afraid to move for fear of getting scratched.

"Have the nations of the world, now bruised by the wounds of battle and drenched in blood as never before, at last learned the primary lesson of civilization: That in all human society, whether national or international, justice and peace, law and order, depend, in last analysis, on willingness of the peaceful and law-abiding majority to employ force in suppressing violence and crime on the part of a lawless minority?

The Future Armistice

"On the answer history gives to this question will depend the ultimate consequences of the future armistice terminating the present world struggle. Either that armistice will inaugurate another truce during which national egotism, political short-sightedness, timid evasion of responsibility, and vain appeasement pave the way to new wars more ghastly than all that have gone before. Or it will usher in an era in which practical statesmanship applies to international relations the most important lesson learned during centuries of experience in maintaining peace and order within civilized nations: the fundamental lesson that justice must be maintained, and crime suppressed, by force as unflinching as it is unconquerable.

"Who shall provide that force? Certainly not any single nation, however rich and powerful, or however favorably situated geographically. Those superpatriots who boastfully proclaim the ability of their country to whip all comers are blind to facts as compelling as they are inescapable. Development of the colossal military establishments necessary to make good their boast would pauperize the nation, stifle its intellectual and social progress for decades if not for centuries, and grind the people to the earth under a crushing burden of taxation. The day is past when any nation can stand alone. The price of liberty, as well as the price of international law and order, is effective cooperation, with mutual sacrifices for the common good.

Lincoln Walks at Midnight

(The poem by Vachel Lindsay from which the following lines are taken was written of the First World War but is just as applicable to the present war. A portentous thing happens at Springfield, Illinois. A restless, mourning figure paces up and down its streets at midnight. It is the bent form of Lincoln.)

"His head is bowed. He thinks on men and kings.
Yea, when the sick world cries, how can he sleep?
Too many peasants fight, they know not why,
Too many homesteads in black terror weep.

The sins of all the war-lords burn his heart,
He sees the dreadnaughts scouring every main.
He carries on his shawl-wrapped shoulders now
The bitterness, the folly and the pain.

He cannot rest until a spirit-dawn
Shall come;—the shining hope of Europe free:
The league of sober folk, the Workers' Earth,
Bringing long peace to Cornland, Alp and Sea.

It breaks his heart that kings must murder still,
That all his hours of travail here for men
Seem yet in vain. And who will bring white peace
That he may sleep upon his hill again?"

If Lincoln could not sleep because of World War I, how can he sleep because of World War II? How can he, or anyone with a conscience and a heart, rest until a New World Order is established that will put an end to war?

The Present Crisis

(The poem from which the following lines are taken was written concerning the controversy over slavery in the United States. In the part we shall take in setting up a New World Order at the conclusion of the present war, the United States faces one of the most fateful decisions of its history.)

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide;
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand and the sheep upon the right,
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt the darkness and the light.

"New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still, and onward, who would keep abreast of Truth;
Lo, before us gleam her camp-fires! we ourselves must Pilgrims be,
Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea,
Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted key."

—*James Russell Lowell.*

In Flanders Fields

"We are the Dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

"Take up our quarrel with the foe;
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields."

The poem from which these lines are taken come out of the First World War. It was written by Lieut.-Col. John McCrae shortly before he made the supreme sacrifice. By "our quarrel with the foe" he did not mean an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, but that for which they were fighting—a better world of freedom and peace.

America's Answer

"Rest ye in Peace, ye Flanders dead;
The fight that ye so bravely led
We've taken up and we will keep
True faith with you who lie asleep.

"Fear not that ye have died for naught—
The torch ye threw to us we caught;
Ten million hands will hold it high,
And Freedom's light shall never die;
We've learned the lesson that you taught
In Flanders fields."

—*R. W. Lillard.*

In the peace that followed the First World War, America failed to keep faith with those who died. Let us see to it that in the peace that follows the present World War, we do keep faith with "those who die" both in the First and Second World Wars.

The New Crusade

(The poem, by Katherine Lee Bates, from which the following lines are taken came out of the First World War, but is as applicable to the present war and the peace to follow.)

"Battle is tragic;
Battle shall cease;
Ours is the magic
Mission of Peace.

"Gladly we barter
Gold of our youth
For Liberty's charter
Blood-sealed in truth.

"Sons of the granite,
Strong be our stroke,
Making this planet
Safe for the folk.

"Life is but passion,
Sunshine on dew.
Forward to fashion
The old world anew!"

"It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated to the unfinished work which they who fought have thus far so nobly advanced. It is for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion."

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right; let us strive on to finish the work we are in . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

—From Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and Second Inaugural.